

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-12 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /085 W
-----027860 231234Z /53

O R 230840Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2544
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY KINSHAHA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 1938

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: XA OAU CO BC
SUBJ: CONSULTATIONS ON ZAIRE SITUATION AT OAU SUMMIT

1. SUMMARY: EXTAFF MIN MOGWE CALLED IN DCM AND IRO JUNE
21 FOR DISCUSSION OF AFRICAN SECURITY IMPERATIVES, ZAIRE
SITUATION AND UPCOMING OAU SUMMIT. MOGWE WAS ACCOMPANIED
BY EXTAFF DEPUTY SECRETARY MOGAMI. MOGWE MADE IT CLEAR THAT,
WHILE GOB MIGHT IN PRINCIPLE BE ABLE TO SUPPORT OAU PAN-
AFRICAN FORCE, AFRICAN STATES MUST IN PRACTICE RELY ON BI-
LATERAL POLITICAL AND SECURITY TIES WITH FRIENDLY STATES.
ON ZAIRE, MOGWE EMPHASIZED NECESSITY FOR ECONOMIC REFORM
AND OPENING OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH DISAFFECTED KATANGANS.
END SUMMARY
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2. IMPERATIVES OF AFRICAN SECURITY: MOGWE BEGAN BY
STATING THAT GOB (AS DO MOST COUNTRIES) SEES THE FIRST
DUTY OF ANY STATE AS PROTECTING THE SECURITY OF ITS
PEOPLE AND THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE STATE. IN
GOB'S VIEW, ANY STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO REQUEST AND RE-
CEIVE OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE FROM ANY QUARTER IF IT CANNOT

BY ITSELF ACHIEVE THESE FUNDAMENTAL GOALS. HE ADDED THAT BOTSWANA EXPECTED THAT IF A STATE SOUGHT BILATERAL ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD BE FROM THOSE STATES WHOSE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS WERE COMPATIBLE WITH ITS OWN. MOGWE TOLD US THAT BOTSWANA WOULD PREFER TO SEE AFRICAN STATES WHICH MUST SEEK OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE TURN FIRST TO THE OAU, BUT HE READILY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT RECENT OAU PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS HAVE FAILED. HE ATTRIBUTED OAU INABILITY TO ORGANIZE EFFECTIVE PEACEKEEPING TO IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE AMONG AFRICAN STATES WHICH LEAD TO PARALYSIS IN THE FACE OF URGENT CASES OF "NAKED AGGRESSION".

3. TURNING TO SPECIFIC CASES, MOGWE SAID THAT OAU HAD "STOOD BY AND WATCHED" WHILE SOMALIA INVADED OGADEN, ALTHOUGH SOME AFRICAN STATES HAD ATTEMPTED TO MEDIATE THE DISPUTE. IT WAS LITTLE WONDER THEN THAT ETHIOPIA LATER TURNED TO SOVIETS AND CUBANS FOR EFFECTIVE BILATERAL MILITARY SUPPORT. MOGWE CONCLUDED THAT, AS LONG AS OAU PEACEKEEPING REMAINS SO INEFFECTIVE, AFRICAN STATES WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TURN TO OUTSIDE POWERS FOR HELP. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, MOGWE CONTINUED, AFRICAN STATES WILL INEVITABLY RELY ON FOREIGN POWERS WITH WHOM THEY HAVE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL TIES. IF BOTSWANA SHOULD EVER BECOME VICTIM OF AGGRESSION, MOGWE STATED THAT IT WOULD FIRST APPEAL TO OAU BUT
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WOULD RESERVE, AND IF NEED BE EXERCISE, ITS RIGHT TO CALL ON ITS FRIENDS FOR HELP.

4. PAN-AFRICAN FORCE: WITH REGARD TO TALK OF PAN-AFRICAN FORCE, MOGWE PREDICTED THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE RAISED AT KHARTOUM BECAUSE "NOT ONLY THE WEST" APPRECIATES NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE. HOWEVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT MANY AFRICAN STATES ALREADY HAVE "SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS" WITH FORMER COLONIAL POWERS OR OTHER OUTSIDE STATES. AFRICANS WILL NOT READILY GIVE UP THESE RELIABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN UNTESTED PAN-AFRICAN FORCE BECAUSE NO ONE IS ANXIOUS TO "SINK HOLDING ON TO A PRINCIPLE". DESPITE THE MANY PROBLEMS INHERENT IN ORGANIZATION OF PAN-AFRICAN FORCE BY OAU, MOGWE WARNED THAT "GISCARD AND OTHERS" SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO TAKE INITIATIVE AWAY FROM AFRICANS IN THIS MATTER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 1938

5. ZAIRE AND SHABA AFRICAN FORCE: TURNING TO SPECIFIC
PROBLEMS OF ZAIRE, MOGWE EMPHASIZED THAT ANY EFFECTIVE
WESTERN PROGRAM TO SHORE UP ZAIRIAN ECONOMY MUST INVOLVE
SIGNIFICANT REFORM MEASURES, PARTICULARLY TO DEAL WITH
RAMPANT CORRUPTION. MOGWE AND MOGAMI ALSO SUGGESTED
THAT U.S. ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH KATANGANS, POSSIBLY
THROUGH ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT, IN ORDER TO EXPLORE METHODS
FOR DEALING WITH THEIR GRIEVANCES. IN THIS CONNECTION,
MOGWE APPEARED TO WELCOME NEWS OF MCHENRY/JUNIOR VISIT
TO LUANDA (SEPTEL), ALTHOUGH WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT
VISIT WAS NOT NECESSARILY RELATED TO OPENING COMMUNI-
CATIONS WITH KATANGANS. IN REPLY TO QUESTION ABOUT
POSSIBLY RENEWED CONGO OR NIGERIAN EFFORTS TO MEDIATE
ANGOLA/ZAIRE DISPUTE, MOGWE TOLD US THAT OAU WOULD
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PROBABLY DECIDE TO UNDERTAKE SOME SORT OF MEDIATION
EFFORT. HOWEVER, HE SAW LITTLE HOPE THAT SUCH MEDI-
ATION WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL.

6. COMMENT: MOGWE STRESSED A NUMBER OF FAMILIAR GOB THEMES INCLUDING THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY IN AFRICAN CONTEXT, THE WEAKNESS OF OAU AS BASIS FOR AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING, AND NECESSITY FOR AFRICAN STATES TO BE ABLE TO RELY ON BILATERAL TIES WITH FRIENDLY OUTSIDE STATES. IN THIS CONNECTION WE WERE GRATIFIED BY MOGWE'S RENEWED STRESS ON IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFINITIES AS BASIS FOR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS OF AFRICAN STATES. HIS STATEMENTS WERE READ BY US AS REAFFIRMATION THAT BOTSWANA'S BASICALLY WESTERN ORIENTATION IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE AS LONG AS WESTERN NATIONS ARE CONSIDERED RELIABLE AND SUPPORTIVE FRIENDS.

7. WE BELIEVE THAT GOB APPRECIATES OUR MOTIVATIONS AND PROBABLY SUPPORTS OUR LIMITED EFFORTS TO RESTORE SECURITY AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN SHABA. MOREOVER, GOB WILL PROBABLY DEFEND ZAIRE'S RIGHT TO CALL UPON WESTERN NATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE IN DEBATE ON SUBJECT AT KHARTOUM. LOGICALLY, HOWEVER, GOB IS ALSO UNLIKELY TO SUPPORT ANY EFFORT TO CONDEMN OTHER AFRICAN STATES FOR CALLING ON USSR AND CUBA IF THAT IS THEIR DESIRE. BOTSWANA WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT AN INSTITUTIONALIZED PAN-AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE, BUT ONLY IF IT WERE ORGANIZED AT AFRICAN INITIATIVE UNDER OAU AUSPICES.

NORLAND

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